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197 vocabulary, so much so that my Petats servant, a man of rather over the average of local intelligence, was unable at first to understand it, and carried on his converse with the Kurtatchi people in pidgin-English. He picked it up, however, in the course of a short time. This dialect is spoken also in the villages of Baniu and Timputs, farther along the coast of Bougainville to the east, and in one hamlet of Tabut, the next village on the west. The other hamlets of Tabut, the villages between Tabut and Buka Passage, and the village of Ruri, about four miles from Kurtatchi on its eastern side, speak dialects much more closely resembling those of the east coast of Buka, particularly that of the Hanahan district. The Hanahan dialect seems to be at least partially intelligible to many, if not most, of the people of the North Bougainville coast, and is used by the Roman Catholic Mission for their services.

The small amount of linguistic evidence available as regards the dialect spoken in the Kunua mountain district suggests that it belongs to a separate group altogether. Mr. Ray thinks that it may be regarded as Papuan. It is completely unintelligible to the coast natives, as are the coastal dialects to the Kunua people. [648] Failure to comprehend each other's speech has probably always been an important factor in the attitude of hostility, now subsided into thinly veiled suspicion, which is traditional between the coast dwellers and the people of the central mountains, who, when investigated, will, I feel sure, prove to differ in many important cultural respects from the people described in the present volume, although they associate with them in certain matters, notably in the boys' puberty ceremonies.

197 621 With this exception, the linguistic differences are not sufficient to prove a bar to inter-communication between the various villages, though a closer connexion is maintained between villages speaking similar dialects. The custom of taking wives from outside the [582] home village links them together, especially as a married couple [591] will frequently reside now in one, now in the other, of their [604] respective homes, and the children will be sent to stay for long periods in the household of their mother's brother. Communication between villages is also established by means of meetings for [438] barter, which is carried on even where relations are not otherwise especially friendly.

484 624 Considering the difficulty of travel, which must all be done either on foot or by canoe, the natives range over quite a large area. For

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pointed out some that did not conform to type they said that those were wrong, but did not attempt any explanation, nor did the discrepancy appear to trouble them at all. One man said they must have got the lines from their fathers.

This belief is found also in Buin, in the extreme south of Bougainville, where it was recorded by Thurnwald (1912, vol. i, p. 536 and Tafel III). He gives drawings of three patterns, one of which, for the Fish-eagle clan (*manugau*), corresponds exactly to the drawing in Fig. 3 for the Naboin (Manu) people.

THE LINEAGE GROUP

The clan is, of course, made up of a number of lineage groups. The separate lineage groups seem to have been, in the olden days, far more self-contained than is the case at present, but even now the lineage functions to some extent as a unit with its own internal organization.

The child whose relations with his fellows we discussed at the beginning of this chapter will be taught from his infancy to regard as the person having most authority over him his mother's eldest brother, whom he calls *tsoanē*, and who calls him *pasunē*. But this man is himself under the authority of his own mother's eldest living brother, as long as any survive. The actual head of the lineage, therefore, is its eldest living male. The small child, however, will not at first realize this, since the man in question, his mother's mother's brother, calls him *tsubna'in*, 'grandson', and shows him all the affectionate attention usual in this community between grandparent and grandchild.

The members of a lineage will often be found living together in a hamlet, on ground which they claim as the property of their clan. As a result of the government policy of encouraging the natives to group themselves together in larger villages, for greater ease of supervision, the hamlet, which seems to have been originally the local unit (and, in the mountain districts, still is), is now becoming merged in the village, so that the lineage group no longer dominates the situation as once it did. The older state of things is best illustrated at Saposa, where the people are scattered over a number of tiny islands. Each island was designated as the property of a certain lineage group, in some cases for habitation, in some for growing coco-nuts, in some for purposes of burial. At Lemanmanu, on the Lontis coast (NW. Buka), I was told that in the olden

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601 in the following notes. Relationship may also be expressed by a transitive verb formed out of these terms and the causative prefix *wa-* which may be said to correspond to our *be-* as in 'befriend'. For example, *wataman* or *watʃinan* means to stand to a person in the relation of father or mother; *Nomoin wapi'an pi Gav* means 'Nomoin is *pi'an* to Gav' (i.e. is his cross-cousin).

Notes on the relationship terms

1. *Tʃina- : bai'i.*

Tʃina- is applied primarily to the actual mother. Second to her in importance comes the mother's sister, then her ortho-cousins (the daughters of her mother's sister).

On the other side of the family it is given to the father's sisters and his parallel cousins (the daughters of his father's brother). Further, it is used of any woman added to the parental generation on both sides by the fact of her marriage to any of either parent's siblings or parallel cousins.

There is never any confusion in the mind of the speaker between his actual mother and the other women to whom he applies this term. Among these others his feelings of nearness and affection
• [604] vary in intensity. Nearest to his own mother comes his mother's sister, who, if she should be resident in the same village, has helped to look after him from his earliest babyhood. The relatives on his father's side, i.e. his father's sister and his father's brother's wife, stand further from him, though he will accord them respect and help them if need arise, just as readily as he helps his mother's relations.

593 The bond between a girl and her actual mother remains very
882 close throughout life, for even if she goes to live with her husband's people, she will often come home for long visits. A boy is taken from his mother when he goes into the bush preparatory to putting on the *upi*, and their connexion is henceforth but distant until after the *upi* has been ceremonially removed, perhaps ten years later. During the intervening years he sleeps in the men's house, and consorts only with people of his own sex. After this, he may return to live in his mother's hut, perhaps bringing his wife there, or he may build another hut for himself and his wife. He is then expected to look after his mother and to help her with her heavy work, and to care for her if she is left a widow in her old age.

601 In the case of a man with more than one wife, the term *tʃina-* is
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593 between mother and son, when the boy puts on the *upi*, in fact he is then just beginning to be taken out by his father on fishing and hunting expeditions, and to be a real companion to him. It is [584] the father who chooses his son's first wife, often while the son is still quite a small boy. An old father will not infrequently live with his married son. I have known a man to beat his wife severely because he thought she had not taken sufficient care of his father during his own absence. A daughter comes in for a fair share of her father's affection, but I did not notice, in the families which I kept under observation, any marked preference for the daughter [578] over the son. In more than one instance there were apt to be quarrels between a man and his adult daughter, while I did not hear of any marked dissensions between a man and his adult son. One rather striking case was that of a married daughter living a very short distance off, who seemed to consider it no business of hers to come and look after her old father when he was ill, leaving him consistently alone until he died. The villagers did not comment on this neglect as if it were anything unusual.

601 *Tamanē* is not a term of address. A child calls his father *pa*. When he is grown up he may use some secondary name, as in the case of his mother.

3. *Tsoa-: pasu-*.

601 The term *tsoa-* is applied by individuals of both sexes to the mother's brother, the mother's mother's brother's son, and the ● 604 mother's mother's sister's son, i.e. to the males of the mother's generation on her side of the house, excluding those introduced by marriage. These men call their sister's (or their cousin's) children *pasu-*, irrespective of the children's sex. The man who counts for most in this relationship is the mother's eldest living brother, who is officially head of his sister's household, and possibly of the whole lineage, and is a person of considerable importance, especially if the lineage be *tsunaun*. The extension of the term to the mother's mother's *brother's* son seems curious, as he is, of course, normally of a different clan and does not belong to the lineage group. There are sufficient examples in my genealogies, however, to authenticate this. The term is not applied to any relative on the father's side of the house, the males of the father's generation on his side of the house being known as *tama-*.

604 The *tsoa-* does not necessarily enjoin discipline, or dispense

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punishment, since but little of either falls to the lot of the children of these natives, and what little there is is just as likely to be in the hands of mother or father as of *tsoa-*. But the relationship seems throughout to be an official rather than a personal one. It is most in evidence during ceremonial procedure, and will be discussed in this respect in various portions of this book. This does not mean that there is no affection between *tsoa-* and *pasu-*, but that depends entirely on the personalities of the individuals.

The *tsoa-* shares with the father the training of the boy in hunting and fishing. If he lives in another village, his nephew will go and stay for long periods in that village, sleeping, if he wears the *upi*, in the men's house belonging to his clan, but being provided with food by the wife of his *tsoa*. In the case of a boy who stands in the direct line of succession to the headship of a tsunaun lineage, the *tsoa-* must, as the young man grows up, teach him certain ceremonial observances which he will later be called upon to carry out. This right cannot be alienated from him, even though he be not fitted for the responsibility. Pinari had decided to allow Kakari, his *pasu-*, to conduct the approaching *watawutʃ* ceremony, under his supervision, so that he would know the ritual. But he had no great confidence in Kakari, who is a somewhat casual and inefficient young man, so he intended to include his own son Wasĕ in the instruction, and let him share the responsibility for the ceremony with Kakari. This was not according to rule, but Pinari considered that he was within his rights in so doing, and no one gainsaid him. He could not alienate the succession from Kakari, but it was very evident that had it been possible he would have done so. His sister Pari told me that he was secretly very much displeased with Kakari for his slackness, but that he was 'ashamed' to scold him about it because Kakari was the heir. In this particular case the personal preference for the son over the sister's son was very marked, and I do not think the case was an isolated one.[1] In many instances known to me, the son, and not the maternal nephew, was the recipient of special knowledge of some particular kind of magic, such as rain-making or love charms.

While there are no taboos governing the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship, when the nephew is grown up there is always a certain amount of reserve between the two. A man's *tsoa-* would not go

[1] The social implications of a situation of this kind are discussed by Malinowski, who found it occurring in the Trobriands (1926 (1), pp. 100 ff.).

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604 to his house if he were not there, it would be considered an insult to the *pasu-*'s wife though he calls her by the same term as his own son's wife, to whom he would go freely.

A man owes certain duties to his *tsoa-*, the chief of which was, in the olden days, to assist him in fighting. He must provide the greater part of the food for his *tsoa-* in old age.

In the case of a female the *tsoa- : pasu-* relationship seems to count for less than with a male, perhaps because there is no question of succession. No specially interesting incidents illustrating the relation between a girl and her mother's brother came under my notice, other than the very exceptional case of rape discussed on p. 77.

4. *Kiar* (term used reciprocally).

601 To understand many of the terms in this relationship system it is essential to bear in mind the way in which the use of the words *kiar* and *wevnē-* differs from our use of the words 'brother' and 'sister'. Whereas our usage depends upon the sex of the person spoken of, the Melanesian usage depends upon the sex of the speaker. That is to say, while we use 'brother' or 'sister' according to whether the sibling to whom we refer is male or female, the Melanesian uses *kiar* if he is referring to a sibling of the same sex as himself, and *wevnē-* in referring to a sibling of the opposite sex. It follows that *kiar* is applied by a man to his brother and by a woman to her sister, while *wevnē-* is applied by a man to his sister and by a woman to her brother. No distinction is made according to whether the speaker is older or younger than the person spoken of.

601 By extension the term *kiar* is used between parallel cousins of the same sex, i.e. by the children of two brothers or of two sisters.
593 No special designation is used between 'ortho-cousins', i.e. cousins
605 in the line in which descent is reckoned, in this case the children of two sisters. But, in practice, the relationship between such is closer than that between the children of two brothers, and unless great precision is used in investigating the facts, the distinction between ortho-cousins and blood brothers and sisters is very easy to overlook; it appears frequently to be ignored, if not actually lost sight of, by the individuals concerned.

593 This is a very close and friendly relationship. A person's *kiar*
605 is the first to whom he turns for help in any enterprise, and is the

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605 582 565 Togen and Matarē told me that their marriages were not really in order, but that they agreed because they were afraid of offending Pinari. In spite of this inauspicious beginning, both marriages seem to be turning out reasonably well.

9. *Watʃitʃio* (term used reciprocally).

601 This term is applied by a woman to the children of her cross-cousins on either side of the house, that is to say, the offspring of her mother's brother's children or of her father's sister's children, and by them to her. It will be seen that the reciprocal term applies to people belonging to an upper and a lower generation, and that while the lower generation can be either male or female, in the upper generation the term applies to females only.

604 582 684 This is a taboo relationship. The woman of the elder generation may not hold such a child in her arms when it is small, and she must not touch it when it is grown up. She must never eat in its presence. This relationship carries with it a very strong taboo against marriage, which is somewhat striking in view of the fact that two persons standing to each other in this relationship are always of different clans, as will be apparent from the table of kinship terms. I was informed more than once that in the olden days the penalty for extra-marital intercourse between *watʃitʃio*, if discovered, was death for both. Members of the woman's lineage would kill the woman, and members of the man's lineage would kill the man. The woman was then eaten by the man's [266] lineage-group and the man by the woman's, no retaliation following on either side. At the present time, they say, all that would happen is that the couple would be banished from the village.

601 604 582 The term *watʃitʃio* is also used reciprocally between a woman and the child of her husband's sister (i.e. her husband's *wevnē-*). By extension, it also applies to the child of any other individual who stands to her husband in the relationship of *wevnē-*. But this does not carry with it so strong a prohibition against marriage, which, though irregular, is not impossible. Tahol, married to Tsigot, took as her lover Wasē, son of Rusu, Tsigot's *wevnē-* (actually his ortho-cousin). After this affair had twice resulted in pregnancy, Tsigot divorced Tahol, and Wasē married her. In telling me about this all the individuals concerned laid stress on the fact that she was not Wasē's *watʃitʃio tsūn* ('real' or 'true' *watʃitʃio*) or the marriage would never have been countenanced.

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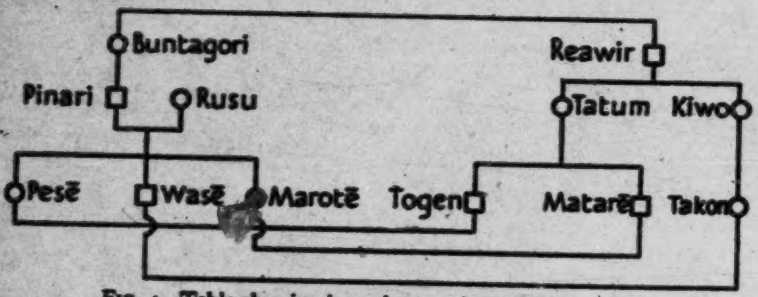

FIG. 4. Table showing irregular marriages between *pi'an*.
Only relevant details shown.

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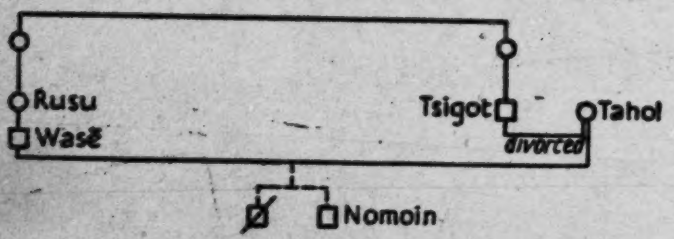

FIG. 5. Table showing irregular marriage between *matfitfio*.
Only relevant details shown.

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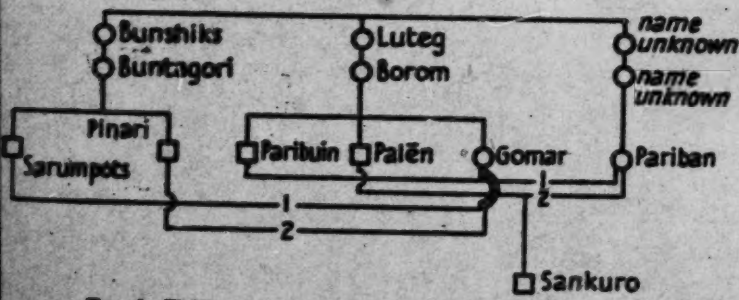

FIG. 6. Table showing irregular marriages between *nuunē-*.
Only relevant details shown.

[p. 69]

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601 *Watʃɪtʃio* is seldom used as a term of address. A child will call his *watʃɪtʃio* by the same term of address as he uses for his mother —*na*—and may refer to her, in speaking to a third person, as *tʃinanē* (my mother), while she, for her part, may call him *bai'i pio* (my child), but without showing him any of the endearments which normally accompany the *tʃina- : bai'i* relationship. It will be remembered that she belongs to the same generation as the women he refers to as *tʃina-*. This term seems to be in more general use in everyday life, *watʃɪtʃio* being a more formal mode of reference especially required on ceremonial occasions, and for this reason it was some time before I appreciated its importance.

●604 It is tempting to speculate on the meaning of this relationship between a woman and the children of her cross-cousins, with such strong taboos attached to it. I do not know of any similar stress laid on this tie elsewhere. It seems just possible that it may be a relic of some marriage system formerly obtaining, in which the cross-cousin was the preferred mate, as is the case in many Melanesian communities. But I have no actual evidence or information in support of this theory, and it would not account for the inclusion of the children of female cross-cousins (i.e. the children of the father's sister's daughter and the mother's brother's daughter).[1]

604 585 852 I should like tentatively to suggest another explanation. If reference be made to the account of the marriage ceremony on p. 91, and of the various ceremonies performed for a child described on p. 186 (no. 3), on p. 187 (no. 5), and on p. 189 (no. 7), it will be seen that the individual's *watʃɪtʃio* takes a prominent part in each, and that her role seems to be either to impersonate the child (as in the ceremony for first placing on the ground, where the *watʃɪtʃio* is decorated with the same kind of leaves as is the child himself), or, on other occasions, to act as a substitute for the child, undertaking first the action he is about to engage upon, as if to interpose herself between him and the danger involved in so doing. For example, in the ceremony for first being carried on his mother's pack, one of his *watʃɪtʃio*, after being carried in this way by another woman, herself carries the child on the same pack,

[1] Mrs. Seligman has drawn my attention to the fact that marriage with the daughter of the female cross-cousin is an essential feature of Ambrym culture (see A. Bernard Deacon, 'The Regulation of Marriage in Ambrym', *J.R.A.I.* lvii, pp. 325 et seq.). In Ambrym marriage with the widow of the mother's brother is also allowed. The same term is, however, not used for mother's brother's wife and for child of the cross-cousin as in North Bougainville.

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temporarily setting aside the taboo on physical contact. Again, in the marriage ceremony, the imitation of the sexual act gone through with one another by the women who stand in that relationship to the bridegroom might be interpreted as taking over to themselves the danger attaching to entry into the married state. This would account for the prohibition against personal contact and also for the strong taboo against marriage. But the natives never at any time made any comments which would suggest that such an idea was involved, and this interpretation of the function of the *watʃitʃio* is therefore hypothetical only.

10. *Tsubu- : tsubna'in.*

All the grandparents, on both sides of the house, and of both sexes, come under the designation *tsubunē*, and any ancestor farther back than the grandparental generation is given the same appellation. Similarly, all the grandchildren are referred to as *tsubna'in pio*, which also embraces great-grandchildren, though it would appear to be rare for a native to live to be old enough to see the children of the fourth descending generation. Neither *tsubunē* nor *tsubna'in* is a term of address, *bubu* being used instead of both of them when speaking directly to the relative concerned.

This is a very close and affectionate relationship, even more than is commonly the case between grandparent and grandchild among ourselves. No taboos or restrictions of any sort are attached to it. As usual, the relatives on the mother's side, especially the mother's mother, stand closer to the child than do the other people to whom he applies the term, but, as usual, much depends on proximity. The grandparents take a large part in looking after the children while they are small, especially when they become of an age to be left at home when the mother goes to the taro garden, or when she has a yet smaller infant to tend. One old man at Kurtatchi was always to be seen with his grandchild on his back, and when the young family went off to visit their other relations he wandered about quite disconsolately waiting for their return; he was typical of many. It is the duty of the grandchildren to care for their grandparents in old age. There were two blind women at Kurtatchi who were always attended and led about by their small granddaughters. The relationship might also be illustrated by plentiful examples from my collection of tales.

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of a married couple is of more importance than the other, the spouse will take up residence in the village of the partner who has the higher status. In any case, the kindred, as defined above, counts for more than the clan.

The recognized social unit is the lineage, its head is the eldest living male, hence it follows that the person to whom an individual looks as the one officially in authority over him is his mother's eldest living brother. Some lineage groups take precedence of the rest; their members are known as *tsunaun*, and the head of such a group is a person of great authority, though now possessing less than in the olden days.

For the reckoning of descent and succession the mother's side of the house is all-important, the father's side completely ignored, i.e. the community is in this respect exclusively matrilineal. But in the case of inheritance of personal property, either in goods or in knowledge, the society is both matrilineal and patrilineal, that is to say, a man can bequeath such property to his son or to his sister's son, or divide it between them, as he pleases.

Throughout the area there are two main clans, but others, smaller in numbers, though not considered as subdivisions, occur: the names and number of these small clans differ in different districts. With each clan is associated some creature, usually, but not always, a bird, but the association now amounts to little more than that of name, though it may once have been more important. The significance of the clan as a social unit seems to have declined considerably with the abolition of warfare.

Marriage is normally exogamous, but exceptions to this rule seem always to have occurred not infrequently. The important thing is to avoid persons with whom direct relationship can be traced either through the mother or through the father, marriages between cousins and the children of cousins being strongly taboo. (This applies to both parallel and cross-cousins.) The bride is preferably obtained from another village.

The relationship system is a 'classificatory' one, comparable with those found in other parts of Melanesia, with strong taboos regulating social intercourse between certain persons. The most important of these are their regulations applying to the wife's mother–daughter's husband relationship, and to that between the parents of husband and the parents of wife. These restrictions are lifted under certain circumstances.

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226 anybody knows it. He learnt it at Pororan, from his *tua* (mother's brother, or some one standing in the same relationship according ● [604] to their system, see p. 60) Pulaget, now dead. He intends to show it to his sister's son, a boy now about sixteen, when he is older, if he wishes to learn it.

The same man gave me another form of procedure with the same purpose, i.e. to bring large shoals of bonito within reach, which runs as follows:

226 Get a stone, and carve it into the shape of a bonito. Give it an 532 eye, and a mouth, and a tail. Go down to the shore and bring up 824 some sea-water to your house, and wash the stone fish in this water, inside the house. Then get some leaves of the *haharib* plant, and put them into a *kōbū* (areca-palm spathe), and put the stone fish on the top of the leaves. Fasten up the *kōbū* and put it in the men's side of the house. Be careful not to put the fish's eye looking out to sea, but put it so that the fish is looking towards the bush, then the bonito will come up towards the shore. Fix a time for taking out the stone fish, perhaps after five nights. When the time comes take the stone fish and rub *magor* on it, get some *iwi* (see p. 417) and rub it on the mouth of the fish. That will make the stone fish very angry, and there will be plenty of bonito. If you want the bonito to finish, take the stone fish out of the *kōbū* and put it away very carefully in your house. Bury the leaves in the sand. Then the bonito will go away.

226 Minka said he learnt this method from his brother, Kiowali, who 532 taught him when he felt that he was about to die. Kiowali possessed two stone fish, one entire, the other with a broken tail. The latter he threw away, the other is in Minka's possession and was shown to me, in great secrecy, when no one was about. It is particularly important that the stone fish should not be seen by women, or it will lose its power. He said he could not give it to me, because he [177] had no other. I subsequently procured one from a man at Ruri, who had used it, but on the advice of the native mission teacher had decided not to do so any more. It is made of a hard black stone, of a volcanic nature, apparently a species of diorite, very similar to other stones used in different kinds of magic. It has a string of trade beads in its mouth, and round its tail, to which is also attached a bunch of dried grass (Pl. 42 centre).

On the north coast of Bougainville wooden models of bonito are sometimes used instead of stone ones; these seem to be later

[i.e., Minka. – Analyst]